

ERP - PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

1976 - 1977 MATERIAL



DIRECTORATE OF
OPERATIONS

Intelligence Information Cable

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED

IN 28
PAGE 1 OF 1

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DIST 23 MAY 1977

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MAY 24 1977

FOIA(b) (3) - 50 USC 3024(i) (1) - Intelligence
Sources and Methods

COUNTRY ARGENTINA

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~~UK~~ ~~PD~~
~~RF~~ ~~AW~~
DERP

SUBJECT DEPARTURE FROM ARGENTINA OF THE TOP LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE'S
REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP); ESTIMATE OF 250 ERP COMBATANTS STILL
IN ARGENTINA

EO25x1

1. [REDACTED]

MOST OF THE TOP ERP/PRT

LEADERS HAVE LEFT THE COUNTRY AND THAT DESPITE HEAVY LOSSES THE ERP/PRT
STILL HAS ABOUT 250 ACTIVE COMBATANTS REMAINING IN ARGENTINA. [REDACTED]

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IN 287221

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[REDACTED] THE ERP/PRT HAS RECENTLY ACQUIRED
A FAIRLY LARGE SUM OF MONEY FROM AN UNKNOWN SOURCE. THE MONEY IS
BEING USED PRIMARILY TO BUILD UP THE ORGANIZATION'S LOGISTICAL
APPARATUS. THE ERP/PRT LEADERS RESIDING OUTSIDE OF ARGENTINA ARE
CONTINUING TO DIRECT ERP/PRT ACTIVITIES VIA A NEW POLITICAL SECRETARIAT
WHICH HAS BEEN SPECIALLY FORMED TO MANAGE THE ORGANIZATION IN ARGENTINA
DURING THIS PERIOD WHILE THE TOP LEADERS ARE ABROAD.

EO25x1

2.

COMMENT:

[REDACTED]

ERP LEADERSHIP IS URGING ERP/PRT MEMBERS IN THE INTERIOR TO MOVE TO THE
FEDERAL CAPITAL OR GREATER BUENOS AIRES. AS A RESULT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THERE ARE ABOUT 100 ERP/PRT MEMBERS IN
THE FEDERAL CAPITAL/GREATER BUENOS AIRES REGION. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE ERP/PRT LEADERSHIP IS URGING ITS PEOPLE TO MOVE FOR SECURITY
AND NOT OPERATIONAL REASONS. THE DENSE POPULATION OF THE FEDERAL CAPITAL/
GREATER BUENOS AIRES AFFORDS BETTER PROTECTION THAN DOES THE LESS
POPULATED INTERIOR.)

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3. SPECIFIC ERP/PRT LEADERS WHO LEFT ARGENTINA ARE ENRIQUE HAROLDO G O R R I A R A N MERLO, JUAN ARNOLD K R E M E R , CARLOS EMILIO A L L , RAUL C O N C E T T I , CARLOS O R Z O C O A AND JULIO ALFREDO O R O P E L .

EO25x1

4. [REDACTED] THE FOLLOWING ERP/PRT LEADERS ARE STILL IN ARGENTINA AND COMPRISE THE NEW POLITICAL SECRETARIAT: HUGO ALFREDO I R U R Z U N , ALIAS "SANTIAGO"; JUAN CARLOS L E D E S M A , ALIAS "EL VISCACHON"; "CACO"; "LEANDOR"; EDUARDO MARTIN S T R E G G E R , ALIASES "MARTIN" AND "LA TIA"; "OSVALDO"; HECTOR L O P E Z ; "CECILIA"; JAVIER RAMON C O C O Z ; LUIS MARIA A G U I R R E , ALIASES "TATO" AND "EL NEGRO"; SONIA ALICIA B L E S S A , ALIAS "ANGELA"; ELENA C O D A N , ALIAS "PAULA"; AND MARIA NORA M U N I T I S. DE M E R B I L H A , ALIAS "ALICIA."

[REDACTED]

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AND METHODS INVOLVED [REDACTED]

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(classification)

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DIST 14 JANUARY 1976

COUNTRY ECUADOR/ARGENTINA

JAN 16 1976

SUBJECT CONTACT BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARY
SOCIALIST PARTY OF ECUADOR AND THE
ARGENTINE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

Coordinator
Deputy Coordinator
Assistant Coordinator
Intern - Hollander

DERP

FIELD NO.

UNCODED

SUMMARY: REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE'S
REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP) AND THE ECUADOREAN REVOLUTIONARY
SOCIALIST PARTY (PSRE) MET IN QUITO IN OCTOBER 1975 AND
REACHED A TENTATIVE AGREEMENT THAT THE ERP WOULD PROVIDE
SUPPORT TO THE PSRE, IN RETURN FOR WHICH THE PSRE WOULD SEND
PSRE MEMBERS TO ARGENTINA TO JOIN THE ERP AND WOULD SUPPORT
THE ERP IN ECUADOR. THE ERP REPRESENTATIVE REPORTED ON THE
PRESENT STATUS OF THE ERP. END SUMMARY.

1. IN EARLY OCTOBER 1975 AN UNIDENTIFIED LEADER OF THE
ARGENTINE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP) MET IN QUITO, ECUADOR,
WITH FERNANDO M A L D O N A D O DONOSO, SECRETARY

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GENERAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY OF ECUADOR (PSRE), TO DIS-
CUSS MUTUAL SUPPORT. AT THAT TIME A TENTATIVE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED
BY WHICH THE ERP WOULD PROVIDE THE NASCENT PSRE MILITARY APPARATUS WITH
ARMS, FUNDS AND TRAINING. IN RETURN, MALDONADO AGREED THAT THE PSRE
WOULD SEND GUERRILLAS TO ARGENTINA TO JOIN THE ERP AND WOULD PROVIDE
PROPAGANDA AND OTHER SUPPORT TO THE ERP IN ECUADOR. MALDONADO HAS
CHOSEN FERNANDO V I T E R Y, WHO WAS RELEASED FROM PRISON IN ECUADOR
IN THE SUMMER OF 1975, AND VICTOR R I V A D E N E I R A, CURRENTLY CA
MEDICAL STUDENT AT THE CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF ECUADOR IN QUITO, CTO BE
IN THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF PSRE PEOPLE TO JOIN THE ERP. BOTH VITERY
AND RIVADENEIRA RECEIVED GUERRILLA TRAINING IN CHILE DURING THE REGIME
OF PRESIDENT SALVADOR A L L E N D E. COMMENT: VITERY IS PROBABLY
FERNANDO V I T E R I ZUNIAGA, A STUDENT AT CENTRAL UNIVERSITY.

VITERI WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR A BOMB INCIDENT DURING THE ORGANIZATION OF
AMERICAN STATES (OAS) CONFERENCE IN QUITO IN NOVEMBER 1974. HE WAS
ARRESTED BY PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES OF THE NATIONAL POLICE AND CONFESSED
TO TRAINING PSRE RADICALS IN PREPARING BOMBS AND TO HAVING PARTICIPATED
IN SEVERAL BOMBING INCIDENTS. RIVADENEIRA MAY BE IDENTICAL TO VICTOR

HUGO R I V A D E N E I R A, WHO

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(classification)

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[] WAS A RADICAL COMMUNIST STUDENT IN THE LATE 1960'S AND INVOLVED WITH A LEFTIST GROUP DISCUSSING KIDNAPPING OF U.S. CITIZENS, AS WELL AS WITH GUERRILLA WARFARE TRAINING OF OTHER LEFTIST STUDENTS.)

2. MALDONADO WAS ACCOMPANIED TO THE MEETING WITH THE ERP BY TELMO HIDALGO, A PSRE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER, AND BY PSRE YOUTH LEADERS WHO SHARE MALDONADO'S COMMITMENT TO GUERRILLA ACTIVITY.

[] COMMENT: HIDALGO IS DR. TELMO HIDALGO DIAZ, PROFESSOR AT CENTRAL UNIVERSITY AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PSRE. []

[] HIDALGO IS THE SPOKESMAN FOR THE PSRE POLITICAL COMMISSION AND AN ADVISOR TO THE FINANCIAL AND LABOR SECTIONS OF THE PSRE. ALONG WITH DR. MANUEL AGUSTIN AGUIRRE, FORMER PSRE SECRETARY GENERAL AND CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL LEADER OF THE PSRE, HIDALGO SUPPORTS THE THESIS OF POLITICAL PRECAUTION BUT COMPLETE OPPOSITION TO OTHER LEFTIST PARTIES AND THE GOVERNMENT.) MALDONADO PLANS TO WITHHOLD KNOWLEDGE OF HIS AGREEMENT WITH THE ERP FROM OTHER PSRE MEMBERS UNTIL HE AND HIS FOLLOWERS GAIN FULL CONTROL OF THE PSRE. [] MALDONADO BELIEVES HE CAN ACCOMPLISH DURING THE PSRE CONGRESS SCHEDULED FOR FEBRUARY 1976.

[] COMMENT: []

[] PSRE LOSS OF INFLUENCE AMONG STUDENT AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ECUADOR MARXIST-LENINIST (PCE/ML) IN THE

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SPRING OF 1975 CAUSED CONSIDERABLE DISSENSION WITHIN PSRE RANKS, AND THE PSRE IS SPLIT INTO THREE CAMPS. IN ESSENCE, THE CONSERVATIVE GROUP WANTS TO CONTINUE COOPERATING WITH OTHER LEFTIST PARTIES IN ECUADOR, WHILE THE MORE RADICAL WING WANTS TO BREAK ALL COOPERATION WITH LEFTIST PARTIES AND GO INTO OPPOSITION, INCLUDING ARMED STRUGGLE, TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE THIRD GROUP WANTS TO OPPOSE THE GOVERNMENT, BUT NOT OPENLY, AND TO DEVOTE ITS EFFORTS TO BENEFIT THE WORKERS.)

3. IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH MALDONADO, THE ERP LEADER SAID THAT THE ERP'S MORALE IS GOOD; IT HAS ADEQUATE FUNDS, AND ENJOYS GROWING SUPPORT AMONG ARGENTINE WORKERS. IN ADDITION, THE ERP IS FUNDING THE REVOLUTIONARY COORDINATING COUNCIL (JCR), A BUENOS AIRES-BASED GROUP COMPOSED OF LEADERS FROM THE URUGUAYAN TUPAMAROS, THE BOLIVIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (ELN), AND THE CHILEAN MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR). THE JCR, HE SAID, IS EFFECTIVELY SUPPORTING THE ERP'S ACTIVITIES.

4. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONING FROM MALDONADO, THE ERP LEADER INSISTED THAT HIS GROUP IS NOT SEEKING A SIMILAR ACCORD WITH OTHER EXTREMIST GROUPS IN ECUADOR. THE ERP LEADER IMPLIED, HOWEVER, THAT HE PLANNED TO TRAVEL TO COLOMBIA AND POSSIBLY VENEZUELA TO MAKE SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS WITH EXTREMIST GROUPS IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

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ERP - PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

1974 - 1975 MATERIAL

SEPTEMBER 18, 1975

SEP 18 1975

Coordinator
Deputy Coordinator
Staff Assistant
Intern

ERP

Argentine Intelligence man Slain

BUENOS AIRES — A gunman screaming "We've come to liquidate you" shot and killed the Defense Ministry intelligence chief yesterday as he shopped in a suburban grocery store, police said.

They said the gunman fired several shots point blank at Rolando Silioni, ran out of the store and escaped in a car carrying three other persons.

Newspapers said they received communiques from the so-called Aug. 22 Commando, apparently a splinter group of the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), claiming responsibility for the assassination. (The date Aug. 22 marks the killings of 16 left-wing guerrillas at a navy base in 1972.)

Argentine guerrillas boast of rural offensive

By Reuter

Buenos Aires

Argentina's People's Revolutionary Army, plans to step up its guerrilla warfare to fan the flames of armed socialist revolution across South America.

The army has founded its first rural brigade, after four years of offensive action in Argentine cities, and it has pledged to subsidize guerrilla organizations of fellow-Marxists in neighboring countries.

Thus the guerrillas, usually known by the Spanish initials ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo), hopes to do what Ernest O. "Che" Guevara failed to do — light the fuse of a revolt which would spread throughout the continent.

Guevara, the Argentine-born Cuban revolutionary, was killed by troops in 1967 while trying to establish a center for continent-wide guerrilla activity in the jungles of eastern Bolivia.

Four months ago the ERP announced that it had joined three other leftwing guerrilla organizations, from neighboring countries, in a Latin American revolutionary junta.

One is the rump of Guevara's Bolivian enterprise, the National Liberation Army (ELN).

The second is the revolutionary Movement of the Left (MLR), which operated legally as a vanguard group under the late socialist President of Chile, Dr. Salvador Allende, but was driven underground after last September's bloody military coup d'etat.

The third is Uruguay's National Liberation Movement (MLN), or Tupamaros. Thousands of suspected MLN members were jailed after an "internal war" by the armed forces in 1972.

None of the other three movements have anything like the wealth or power of the ERP. But it has just said it will split \$5 million between them, and this could be enough to breathe in new life.

The money will come from a ransom paid by the United States-owned ESSO (Exxon) Oil Company for the release of a refinery manager, Victor Samuelson, kidnapped last December and released two months ago.

The ransom, \$14,200,000 was, according to military experts here, enough to keep about 1,500 guerrillas armed and active for a year.

When the revolutionary junta was founded, the four guerrilla movements issued a joint communique saying the struggle for socialism in Latin America would be long.

They called on "the exploited Latin American workers, the poor peasants, the poor of the cities, the students and intellectuals, the revolutionary Christians, and all those elements originating in the exploiting classes who are willing to work with the just, people's cause," to join them "under the banner and the example of commander Che Guevara."

The ERP until recently operated only in cities. But police and troops scoured a remote region of northwestern Argentina last month in a vain search for a suspected rural ERP brigade.

The ERP has since confirmed that such a brigade exists. It described the government operation against it as a total failure and said it intended to create more rural fronts.

This is not only a challenge to the Argentine government of President Peron, it is also worrying the rightwing regimes in Bolivia and Chile. All the wilder parts of Argentina are near their frontiers.

The ERP, hoping to enroll untapped support in the countryside, claimed that it would soon multiply its firepower and be able to take on the armed forces in open combat.

Argentina's Marxist guerrilla movement is already known to have increased its numbers from among former Peronist guerrillas, disappointed with General Peron's conservatism since last year, when he returned to power.



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CITE [Redacted]

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DIST 22 July 1975

JUL 28 1975

COUNTRY ARGENTINA

Coordinator
Deputy Coordinator
~~Staff Assistant~~
Intern

[Redacted]

SUBJECT CONTINUED KIDNAPPINGS BY THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP):
PLAN OF GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES TO MOVE AGAINST CERTAIN ERP MEMBERS

EO25x1

[Redacted]

2.

THE PEOPLE'S

REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP) HAS KIDNAPPED AN EXECUTIVE OF THE OTIS ELEVATOR COMPANY. NEITHER THE NAME NOR THE NATIONALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL KIDNAPPED IS KNOWN TO THE SECURITY FORCES, BUT THE PERSON IS BELIEVED TO BE A FOREIGNER. THE KIDNAPPING HAS NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY ADMITTED BY THE OTIS COMPANY TO THE VICTIM'S RELATIVES.

[Redacted]

5 THERE IS NO AMERICAN EXECUTIVE WITHIN THE LOCAL OTIS COMPANY.

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(classification)

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3. COMMISSIONER CARMELO M A Y O R A N O, CHIEF OF FEDERAL POLICE SECURITY, HAS ISSUED ORDERS THAT THE POLICE, EXCEPT IN SPECIFICALLY APPROVED CASES, ARE TO CARRY OUT THEIR FUNCTIONS IN A COMPLETELY LEGAL MANNER AND ARE NOT TO RESORT TO EXTRA-LEGAL TERRORIST TACTICS, AS THEY HAVE ON OCCASION IN THE PAST. THE REASON FOR THIS ORDER IS POLITICAL. MAYORANO AND HIS COHORTS WANT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT ALL RIGHTIST VIOLENCE IN RECENT TIMES HAD BEEN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ARGENTINE ANTI-COMMUNIST ALLIANCE (AAA) WHICH ALLEGEDLY HAD BEEN UNDER THE CONTROL OF JOSE L O P E Z R E G A, FORMER MINISTER OF SOCIAL WELFARE AND PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT. SHOULD RIGHTIST VIOLENCE SUDDENLY CEASE, IN THE OPINION OF THE POLICE, THE PUBLIC WILL THINK IT IS BECAUSE THE AAA IS INACTIVE BECAUSE OF THE CURTAILMENT OF THE POWER OF LOPEZ REGA. THE COINCEDENCE OF LOPEZ REGA'S REDUCED AUTHORITY WITH THE REDUCTION OF RIGHTIST TERRORISM WILL LEND EVEN GREATER CREDENCE TO LOPEZ REGA'S PURPORTED PREVIOUS TERRORIST ACTIVITIES. THE RESULT, AS FAR AS THE POLICE ARE CONCERNED, WILL BE TWOFOLD: A FURTHER DISCREDITING OF LOPEZ REGA AND AN IMPROVED IMAGE OF THE POLICE.

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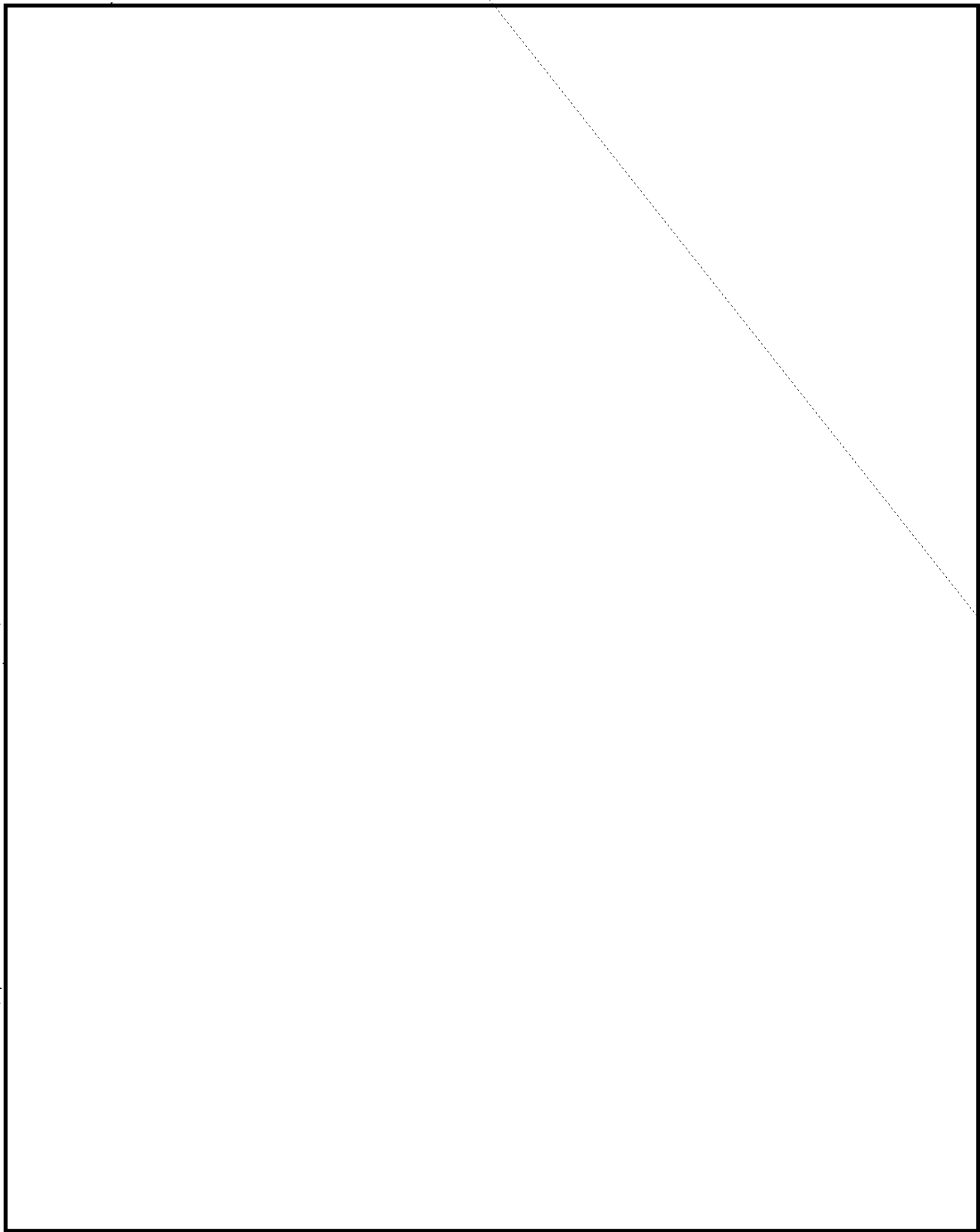
5. [REDACTED] FORCES HAVE RECEIVED THE NAMES OF CERTAIN ERP MEMBERS WHO ARE EMPLOYED IN VARIOUS COMPANIES IN ARGENTINA. A COORDINATED OPERATION TO PICK UP AS MANY OF THESE ERP PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE IS TENTATIVELY PLANNED FOR LATE JULY 1975. JULY 22, 23 AND 27 HAVE BEEN MENTIONED AS DATES FOR THE ACTION. THE POLICE CONSIDER THIS PROPOSED OPERATION TO BE A LEGAL ONE.

6. THE ERP HAS BEEN CIRCULATING LEAFLETS IN CORDOBA AND TUCUMAN DURING EARLY JULY 1975. THE LEAFLETS CONCERN THE ARGENTINE ARMY'S PAST OFFENSIVES AGAINST THE ERP. [REDACTED] AN OBJECTIVE OF THE ERP IN DISTRIBUTING THIS PROPAGANDA IS TO TRY TO BOOST MORALE WITHIN THE ERP'S RANKS. [REDACTED]

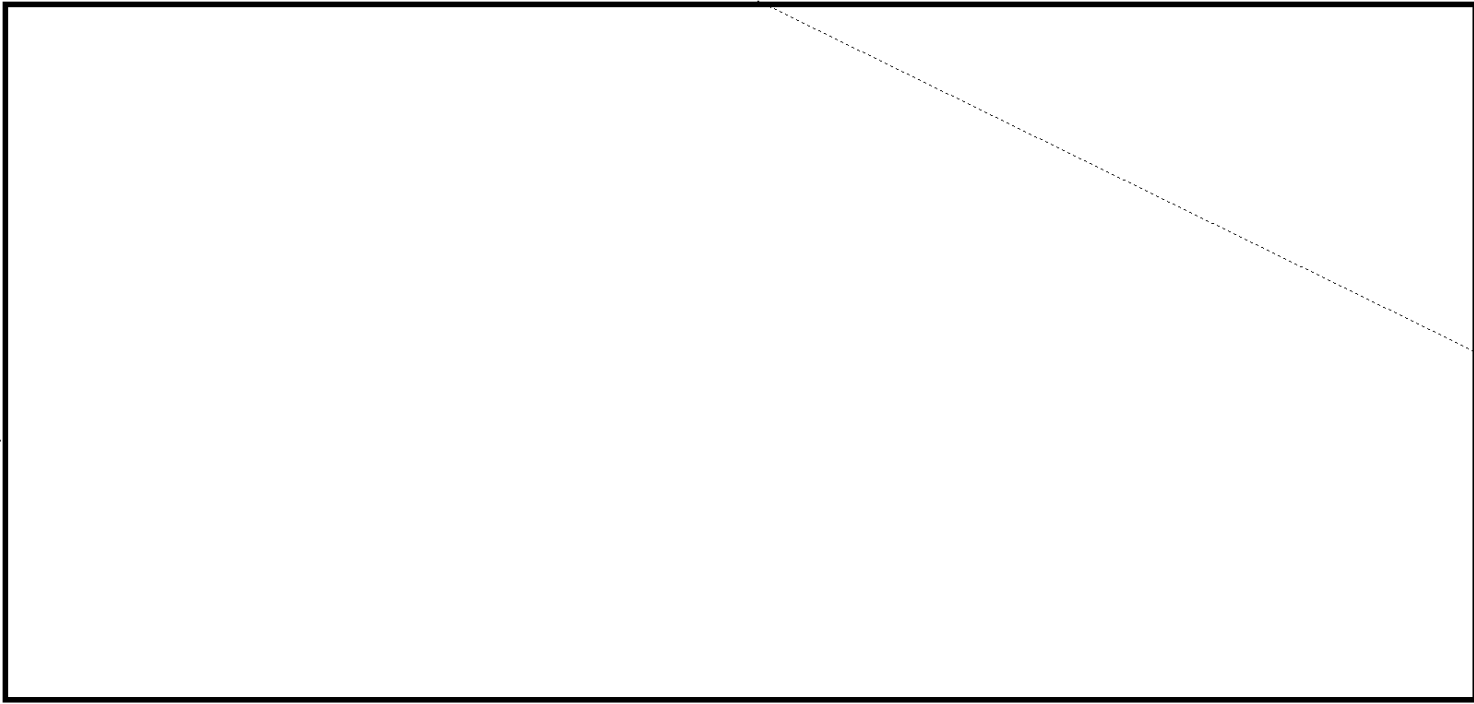
[REDACTED] THERE IS A POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN THE ERP CENTERING AROUND A DISAGREEMENT OVER THE LEADERSHIP POLICIES OF MARIO S A N T U C H O.

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National Intelligence Bulletin

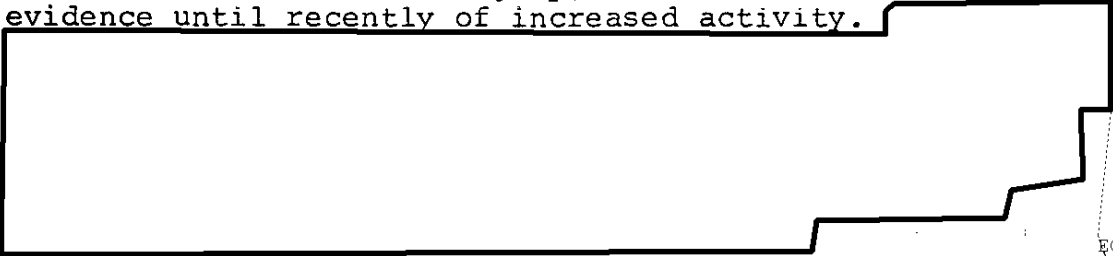
June 18, 1974

ARGENTINA

The Marxist People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) recently announced plans to form rural guerrilla fronts, following four years of major successes in urban subversion. The terrorist leaders apparently intend to concentrate both on increasing internal activities and strengthening ties with similar groups in neighboring countries.

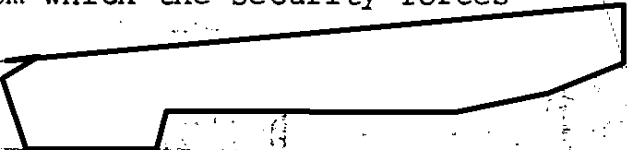
According to a communiqué signed by guerrilla leader Roberto Santucho, the move to develop an operating capability in the countryside will enable his organization to maintain closer contact with subversive groups in neighboring countries and "fan the flames of armed socialist revolution across South America." The communiqué stated that part of the funds obtained in the ransom of Exxon executive Victor Samuelson had been distributed to these groups.

The ERP announced earlier this year that it was establishing a coordinating junta with marxist organizations in Chile, Bolivia, and Uruguay, but there has been little evidence until recently of increased activity.



EO25x1

The simultaneous development of urban and rural guerrilla fronts may also represent a propaganda effort to point up embarrassing failures of recent security operations. Last month, hundreds of police and soldiers raided a rural guerrilla base in northwest Argentina. The widely publicized operation came to an embarrassing end when the ERP temporarily seized the town from which the security forces had operated.



Despite the new emphasis on rural guerrilla fronts, it is unlikely that the ERP will shift its main focus away from the cities. Rural areas could, however, serve as a temporary haven should the government's counter-terrorist program eventually prove more successful. Rural insurgencies in other Latin countries have generally failed for lack of local support.

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